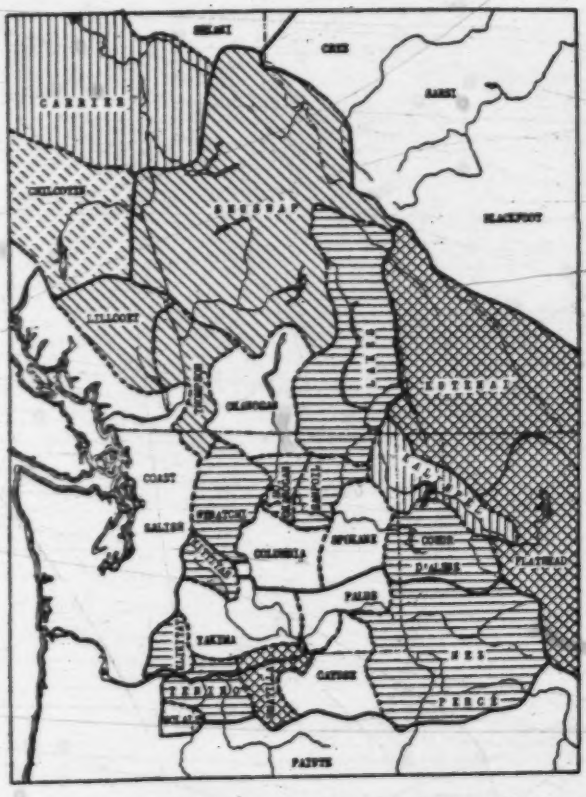
sweat house in an isolated spot in the mountains, sweating, massaging with conifer twigs, attempted trips to the land of the dead, mock shamanistic treatment, and the use of a human skull as a cup. Upon brief visits to the village the boy visits his shaman proctor and demonstrates



MAP 7. Period of the guardian spirit quest. *Horizontal hatching:* pre-puberty; *diagonal hatching:* puberty especially, also post-puberty; *cross hatching:* any age, pre-puberty especially; *vertical hatching:* any age, puberty especially; *broken hatching:* middle age.

his abilities. The proctor may send him back or declare that he has achieved his goal. Among the Thompson, Okanogan, and Shuswap the training is much less extreme in form and duration. The training period

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

appears to be a local development much influenced by Coast ritualism. The age at which a guardian spirit may be acquired varies considerably through the Plateau. Several patterns may be isolated: pre-puberty (minimum age, six to ten years); puberty (range of two or three years); post-puberty (terminated by maturity); and middle age. A practice limited to the Southern Okanogan admits children of three to six years to the quest. In no group may elderly persons hope for success. The periods are not in all cases mutually exclusive. Another aspect which must be considered is the recognition of one period or circumstance as more favorable than another. Two categories are prominent: puberty and periods of crises. Data are scarce on the latter point and little can be added to Spier's discussion, except that recognition of crises as significant by the Klamath appears unique in the American Plateau.[23]

The pre-puberty quest as the exclusive form is noted for the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi ("virgins only"), Southern Okanogan ("almost always"), Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé (?),[24] that is, the south central area. Those recognizing prepuberty as the principal or most favorable period, but not wholly excluding later quests, include the Klamath, Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai, all marginal groups. The Canadian Salish constitute a third distinct group, in which puberty is the initial and most favorable time but later quests are not infrequent. Only among the Chilcotin is a premium placed upon middle age as a time for acquiring power. This is undoubtedly linked with the prolonged dreaming of the Carrier.

Throughout the Plateau a wide range of spirits serve as guardians. The Chilcotin share this trait to a limited degree but the Carrier do not. Regional specialization is to be seen, however. Inanimate objects play an important role only among the Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, and possibly Lillooet, a continuous distribution undoubtedly representing local elaboration of a more widespread notion.[25] The occurrence of mythological beings as guardian spirits forms an interesting distribution, for the source of the concept is unquestionably the Coast, where it is often the type. The instances are all on the Columbia River,

[23] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 94.

[24] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 239; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 137; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 249–50.

[25] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 238; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 76 f.

101
197

The two subgroups of Sahaptin which are of concern here are Northern Sahaptin and Molale-Cayuse. The former includes all dialects spoken by Columbia Basin groups with the exception of Cayuse. It should be mentioned that the neighboring Nez Perce constitutes a third division, unintelligible to either of the others but less divergent from Northern Sahaptin than Molale-Cayuse. Northern Sahaptin in turn may be divided into Northwest Sahaptin dialects and Umatilla reservation dialects. "Among northwest Sahaptins [Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam, Wanapam] a few immaterial phonetic changes and morphologic specializations that sound amusing but never unintelligible to the speaker of an adjacent band, and some scores or hundreds of unimportant vocabulary and idiomatic details are all that make for provincialism or dialect boundaries. . . . The Umatilla, Walula and Palus provincialisms spoken on the Umatilla reservation of northern Oregon constitute a dialect intelligible to all the northwest Sahaptins and like the latter differ with one another in minor morphologic and vocabulary detail. Northwest Sahaptin and Umatilla reservation dialects have a number of interesting morphologic and phonetic points of difference in spite of mutual intelligibility."[13]

IV.

101
171

Cultural subdivisions may not be indicated with the finesse possible for dialect groups. Yet several units stand out with relative clarity. They may be designated as follows: (a) the Lakes; (b) the Central Interior Salish, including Colville, Lower Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan and Columbia; (c) the Cascade Interior Salish, namely the Methow, Chelan and Wenatchi; (d) the Northeastern Interior Salish, including the Kalispel, Chewelah, Coeur d'Alene, Upper Spokane and Middle Spokane; (e) the Northwestern Sahaptins, including the Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam and Wanapam; and (f) the Northeastern Sahaptins, comprising the Umatilla, Walula, Palus and Cayuse.

[13] *Ibid.*, 96.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

This classification of cultural subareas must be regarded as highly tentative. For a great part of the Basin no studies by trained investigators have been made. Indeed, it is simpler to cite the detailed researches than to indicate the relatively unknown regions. All of the northern Interior Salish have been reported by James A. Teit but each group has been treated very briefly with the exception of Coeur d'Alene.[14] The Sanpoil and Nespelem have been studied more fully by the author.[15] Dr. Leslie Spier and Dr. Edward Sapir worked with the Wishram[16] of the Columbia river near The Dalles; their findings throw some light upon the adjacent Klikitat and Wayampam. This meager list exhausts the published data. The results of work with the Southern Okanogan by a number of students, under Dr. Spier's direction, will appear in the near future. Researches with the Lakes and the Umatilla are under way by the author.

It is markedly apparent that much further work is required before other than an hypothetical characterization of the Basin will be possible. With caution, however, a few remarks may be made to assist the reader in picturing the area and in explanation of the divisions suggested. It may be assumed with relative safety that the Central Interior Salish represent the oldest stratum of Basin culture. Though this culture may at one time have been spread over a much wider area, prewhite cultural influences and historical factors resulted in modification of marginal Basin patterns of life to so great an extent that the relatively uninfluenced Central Interior Salish took on the appearance of a culture island. One of the greatest of these historical factors was the coming of the horse. Speaking generally, the Salish groups were much less affected by its advent, and the typical Plains traits which travelled with it, than were the Sahaptins. Except in a few superficial aspects of life the Central Interior Salish, barring the Columbia, remained

[14] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish"; James A. Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus (ed. by Franz Boas)" in *Report, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1930), XLV, 23-396.

[15] Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

[16] Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1930), III, 151-300.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

unchanged. The latter group, lying adjacent to Sahaptin peoples, took over the horse and its accoutrements with avidity but had not, even after 1850, lost its cultural identity through submersion by the whole complex of Plains traits.

The Northeastern Interior Salish was the unit of Salish most influenced by the horse culture complex. A further partial basis for their cultural differentiation lay in the characteristics of their habitat. The western boundaries of these groups roughly coincided with the line of transition from desert to upland country, while eastern boundaries fell well into the Rocky Mountains. Among many resultant cultural differences was the absence of salmon as the economic staple together with all associated traits. (Bear in mind that no such environmentally based difference existed between the Sanpoil and the Umatilla, for example.) The environmental factor played an even greater role in the culture of the Lakes. Their territory, extending far into the Canadian Rockies, consisted largely of long mountain ranges enclosing narrow valleys with precipitous sides. Navigable rivers and lakes lay within each of these interconnected valleys making canoe transportation highly feasible but any other type of travel scarcely possible. Horses of course were never accepted. Obviously the life led in such a habitat differed greatly from that of the desert-dwelling peoples to the south. The very fact that in spite of these environmental differences the Lakes maintained many typical Basin traits demands that culturally they be considered essentially Basin peoples.

The principal traits upon which the Cascade Interior Salish are separately classed are the same ones which link them with their Coast Salish neighbors. Thus normal trans-mountain intercourse easily accounts for the identity of this unit.

Turning to the Sahaptin subdivisions we find both to be characterized by a deep veneer of Plains traits setting them apart from the Salish much more distinctly than from each other. However, the Northeastern Sahaptins have been longer and more intimately in contact with Plains peoples (or those with long established Plains traits, as the Nez Perce) than the

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

171/177

northwestern group. This is shown in the culture of the Northeastern Sahaptins by a marked emphasis upon certain peculiarly Plains customs such as that of "counting coups."[17] Thus chieftainship depended almost wholly upon prowess in warfare; indeed social prestige generally was reckoned in like terms.

This degree of emphasis upon Plains values seems never to have been reached among Northwestern Sahaptins though their acceptance of Plains material traits was equally great. Even the latter may not be as deeply imbedded as is apparent on the surface. In support of this view is the recent discovery of a Wanapam village near Priest Rapids on the Columbia river (Wanapam village no. 2) where hardly a trace of white influence is to be seen, but more surprisingly, even less evidence of Plains influence.[18] In all visible respects this village pictures Central Interior Salish conditions of 1850 or earlier. Thus the individuality of Sahaptin subareas is to be judged in terms of depth and integration of Plains overlay, a difference in degree, not in kind.

V.

619

Perhaps no aspect of Columbia Basin culture presents more fascinating and yet difficult problems than that of political organization. One of the most valuable results of a survey of native villages and territories is a partial clarification of some of these problems. Wide variations in the scope of the political unit stand out with particular force, though accurate analysis is greatly hampered by present day confusions with linguistic units, arbitrary Indian service administration units, and reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation.[19] But one point is clear: the tribe in any literal sense is absent from a great part of the Basin. In consequence the term tribe has been avoided throughout this paper as a designation for

[17] An explanation of this custom will be found in Frederick W. Hodge, ed., "Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1907), XXX, pt. 1, 354.

[18] This village was found during search for material for the present paper.

[19] Thus all of the natives now resident on the Colville Indian Reservation, with the exception of the Nez Percé, speak of themselves as "Colvilles" though they belong to many divergent groups.